

Trade Competition, Conflict, and Political Transformations in Sixth- to Sixteenth-Century Philippine Chiefdoms



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SPANISH AND CHINESE historical documents indicate that at the time of European contact, the coastlines of most of the major Philippine Islands were dotted with numerous politically complex societies, with hereditary "chiefs" standing at the apex of well-developed systems of social stratification. Recent archaeological research has suggested that these pre-state complex societies or "chiefdoms" have been part of the Philippine sociopolitical landscape since at least the mid-first millennium A.D. However, beginning around the tenth century A.D. and intensifying just before Spanish colonization, these chiefdoms became involved in long-distance "prestige good" trade with the Chinese and other mainland Asian states. Chinese porcelain and other luxury goods became key symbols of social prestige and political power for the Philippine chiefly elite. Both ethnohistoric sources and archaeological evidence suggest that this foreign luxury good trade reached its height in terms of volume and interpolity trade competition in the fifteenth–sixteenth centuries. This corresponded with the emergence of more organizationally complex and territorially expansive chiefdoms in regions of the Philippines that were favorably situated for control of this wealth-generating trade.

Based on analogous cases of political evolution in the context of competitive foreign trade, this essay argues that the ability of a competing polity to gain regional political ascendancy is frequently dependent on a dual strategy: (1) the reorganization of its internal economy (i.e., internal trade networks and tribute mobilization systems) to mobilize resources more efficiently for foreign export; and (2) the development of more effective military organization, weaponry, and strategies of interpolity warfare aimed at disrupting the participation of competitors in foreign luxury good trade. Using ethnohistoric sources and archaeological evidence from the sixth- to sixteenth-century Bais Region chiefdom, this paper examines this dynamic relationship between the emergence of increasing complex political structures in chiefdom-level societies, transformations in their internal economic organization, and their strategies for aggression and conflict man-

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agement. These changes are viewed in the context of interpolity competition for foreign trade as an external source of politically manipulable "wealth."

FOREIGN PRESTIGE GOOD TRADE AND SOCIO-POLITICAL EVOLUTION

A number of ethnographic and archaeological studies have been focused on the issue of competitive luxury good exchange in chiefdom-level and state societies, and the various strategies used by polities to gain control over exotic symbols already associated with high status and political authority amongst a foreign elite (e.g., Blanton and Feinman 1984; Coquery-Vidrovich 1968; Flannery 1968; Frankenstein and Rowlands 1978; Friedman 1975; Haselgrove 1982; Wheatley 1975). As outlined by Timothy Earle (1987:294-297) and others (such as Brumfiel and Earle 1987; Frankenstein and Rowlands 1978; Renfrew and Shennan 1982), control over the distribution of prestige goods, whether obtained through foreign trade or produced locally by attached specialists, is one of the various means whereby a sociopolitical elite is able to maintain and expand its political power in chiefdoms. Prestige goods serve as potent symbols of social rank and political authority in the context of status rivalry. Interpolity exchanges of prestige markers between high-ranking individuals in the social contexts of feasts, ritual, and other elite-restricted activities create a symbolic elite "culture" distinct from that of nonelites (e.g., Freidel 1986), often resulting in significant similarities in luxury goods, mortuary treatment, monumental architecture, and ritual symbols across wide regions that are otherwise quite distinct in material assemblages (Braun 1986; Flannery 1968; Renfrew 1986; Shennan 1982).

Prestige goods also represent bankable stores of "wealth" that can be strategically distributed to establish the critical alliances necessary for political centralization (Earle 1987, 1991). This "political currency" is frequently used as a form of "patronage," to cement the allegiance of "clients." A chief's success in mobilizing labor, extracting surplus, and conscripting military forces generally is tied directly to his ability to strategically disburse "wealth" to subordinates and allied leaders (Friedman and Rowlands 1977; Kipp and Schortman 1989). Thus, key to the operation of such a prestige goods system is chiefly control over access to foreign luxury goods: through strategic location along major trade routes, the establishment of exclusionary social contexts for prestige goods exchange, direct administration of internal systems for amassing exportable goods, and effective competitive interactions with rival polities.

One of the more well-known cases in which competitive foreign luxury good trade and the operation of a "prestige goods economy" have been seen as significant catalysts in sociopolitical evolution is the analysis of interactions between first millennium B.C. Early Iron Age chiefdoms of Europe (e.g., Hallstatt) and the rising Mediterranean states (i.e., Etruscan, Phoenician, and Greek) (Frankenstein and Rowlands 1978; also see Collis 1984:62-102; Cunliffe 1988:12-37; Hedeager 1992:83-90; Wells 1980, 1984). According to this model, foreign-obtained prestige goods (e.g., Mediterranean pottery, fine bronze work, wine, amber, shell) served as the primary media for chiefly manipulation of regional political power relations in these central and western European chiefly societies (i.e., as a "political currency" for alliance-building and wealth accumulation). This emphasis on access to foreign status-symboling paraphernalia engendered a

significant degree of competition between polities to obtain and maintain a monopoly on long-distance trade, primarily through restrictive social contexts of exchange and spiraling demands on local resource mobilization systems (i.e., internal tribute and exchange networks) to provide exportable resources. Frankenstein and Rowlands (1978) suggested that Iron Age chiefs ensured exclusive access to Mediterranean imports by locating their political and economic centers along major riverine trade routes (e.g., the Rhone and Danube Rivers) and in regions with significant potential for surplus production of exports such as iron ore, cattle, grain, and salt. In addition, interactions with Greek traders were restricted to elites through ritually enforced and militarily enforced proscriptions about the proper social contexts, locations, and calendrical framework for foreign trade (Wells 1980:78–79).

Foreign luxury goods served as important means by which chiefly patrons could attract a large cadre of tribute-producing supporters. A generous outflow of prestige markers to subordinates translated directly into an expanding inflow of resources for foreign export (Haselgrove 1987:105–106; Wells 1980:96–103). As summarized by Kipp and Schortman (1989:376), "... the more successful a patron was in attracting a band of supporters, the more surplus he could control, the more luxury goods he could capture in the Mediterranean trade, and hence the larger number of supporters he could attract." The result, according to this model, was regional trade domination and political expansion by a small number of western and central European polities at the expense of their less-successful neighbors. Increasing political centralization and social stratification in this period of expanding Mediterranean trade contacts is evidenced archaeologically in the emergence of several fortified, "urban" centers (e.g., Heuneberg, Vix) of hitherto unprecedented size and complexity (Wells 1984). This is also seen in the scale of mortuary display, in which enormous quantities of luxury goods (primarily locally produced, but some imported) were lavished on a small number of massively constructed chiefly graves (Wells 1984:111–112, 123–124).

A complementary strategy to internal economic changes, as illustrated by the Iron Age European case, is escalating interpolity conflict. Chiefs of militarily powerful polities attempted to block or disrupt foreign trade participation of competing chiefs by waging warfare and mounting raids aimed at severing long-distance trade routes, impeding internal resource mobilization, and generally creating economic instability in their rivals (Frankenstein and Rowlands 1978; Wells 1980). The rising emphasis on militarism in Early Iron Age society is archaeologically evidenced in technological developments in military equipment (e.g., iron weaponry and armor), the construction of sophisticated fortification, the introduction of mounted cavalry as a widely used military strategy in later phases, and direct evidence for periodic destruction of major town centers (e.g., the periodic burning and rebuilding of the massive fortifications at Heuneberg). Enhanced military capacities in expanding polities not only served to impede production and trade in their militarily weaker neighbors, but also were likely to have enhanced the ability of these militaristically strong polities to mobilize export goods attractive to foreign traders, because the threat of violence was an effective tool for coercion of the internal workforce.

An inherent weakness of the reliance on foreign luxury good procurement and

the associated escalation in chiefly demands for surplus production—and a “destabilizing” factor in chiefdoms in general (Earle 1987; Sahlins 1963)—is that these increasing demands on internal resource amassment systems could eventually exceed the productive capacity of the local economy or the capacity of the local chief to enforce compliance amongst producers. In addition, changes in the trade priorities (i.e., preferred trade commodities, trade routes, and trade partners) of dominant foreign trade powers could lead to rapid reversal of a chief's primacy in controlling the foreign luxury good wealth necessary to stimulate surplus production (Friedman and Rowlands 1978). Both processes can eventually lead to the collapse of chiefly hegemony in the affected polity, and the shifting of regional power relations as other polities gain economic primacy and political ascendancy (Champion and Champion 1986).

Through distributional studies of ceramics and metal goods, Frankenstein and Rowlands (1978) attempted to demonstrate that the political and economic primacy of one Early Iron Age chiefdom, centered at the site of Heuneberg, was eventually usurped by the severing of vassal tribute relations. They suggested that the collapse of the Heuneberg chiefdom was due to ever-escalating tribute demands by the paramount, coupled with a shift in Greek trade routes from the Rhone and Danube Valleys to other areas of western and central Europe. This is evidenced archaeologically in the periodic destruction and abandonment of northwestern European towns like Heuneberg, with cessation of large-scale hill-fort construction and the appearance of depauperate chiefly graves in one polity contemporaneous with archaeological indicators of rising regional power in another. This political “cycling,” in which competitive interactions between peer polities result in oscillatory expansion and contraction of the scale and complexity of individual control hierarchies, has been shown to be a characteristic feature of chiefdom-level societies (Carneiro 1981:66; Wright 1984:42–43; also see Brumfiel and Fox 1993; Renfrew and Cherry 1986).

A number of archaeologists investigating Iron Age European political economy, however, have recently criticized the “prestige goods economy” model of Frankenstein and Rowlands (1978) and others for placing too much emphasis on foreign trade as a catalyst for both political expansion and collapse in these societies (Bintliff 1984; Dietler 1989, 1990; Gosden 1985; Pare 1991, 1992). A reconsideration of the archaeological evidence for foreign trade has indicated that, although foreign luxury goods in burial and domestic contexts at Hallstatt Iron Age sites frequently are spectacular, they are relatively rare and tend to be concentrated in a few tombs or fortified settlements, which are more noticeably endowed with large quantities of locally produced prestige objects (Dietler 1990:356). The comparative paucity of Mediterranean imports, according to new interpretations, undermines their inferred role as the primary prestige symbols and political currency in Iron Age society and as a major focus of interpolity chiefly competition.

In addition, although the use of foreign “prestige goods” in extensive chiefly networks of alliance-building exchange and redistribution are central to Frankenstein and Rowlands's (1978) model, there is actually very little archaeological evidence that Mediterranean imports moved beyond a limited number of extremely rich graves and households representing the highest echelon of Iron Age society (Dietler 1990:358). Noting that the bulk of Mediterranean imports

were wine and wine-drinking paraphernalia, Dietler (1990) suggested that the primary impact of foreign trade may have been in the realm of elite status display and social interaction rather than enhancing political cohesion through redistributive exchange. Specifically, exotic beverages and serving vessels would serve to further demarcate already socially restricted elite drinking and competitive feasting behaviors. As pointed out by Gosden (1985:489–491), by inflating the significance of archaeologically highly visible Mediterranean imports, researchers have neglected what may be less archaeologically visible but important components of the Iron Age chiefly political economy: (1) internal manufacture of “prestige goods” (by what Brumfiel and Earle [1987] referred to as “attached specialists”) for elite display and circulation, and (2) internal subsistence production and tribute mobilization as the ultimate source of chiefly “wealth.”

Another important issue raised by the European Iron Age case is whether the coincidence or association of intensified foreign trade and sociopolitical transformations necessarily implies the directional causality suggested by traditional “trade stimulus” models (e.g., Adams 1974; Posnansky 1973; Wheatley 1975). Recent refinements of European Iron Age chronologies have shown that, in fact, the bulk of Mediterranean trade into western and central Europe is coeval with, if not later than, archaeological evidence for increased political centralization and social stratification (Pare 1991:191). Several scholars have suggested that, although the initiation of long-distance trade interactions can in some cases be an important catalyst to sociopolitical evolution, the opposite process may also occur. Polities able to concentrate political power and to create politically manipulable “wealth” through internal production may be in a favorable position, relative to their less-complex neighbors, to attract foreign traders and assimilate their products into indigenous concepts of social “value” (Gosden 1985:491; Pare 1991:191). Finally, researchers working on the political economy of Iron Age Europe have emphasized the dangers of generalizing a uniform pattern and impact of long-distance trade on a politically and economically diverse range of indigenous societies (Dietler 1989:135). Foreign goods and ideology are filtered through the selective screen of a “political logic of consumption” characterizing individual societies (Appadurai 1986:29–31; Thomas 1991:103–110), and the dynamics of foreign trade interactions can vary dramatically even in what appear to be similarly organized societies.

As a well-studied case of chiefly political economies articulated through foreign trade with a distant state economy, the European Iron Age example provides a useful analogue for analyzing Philippine political evolution in the context of Chinese trade. As is outlined below, the Philippine case appears to be more consistent with Frankenstein and Rowlands’s (1978) concept of a chiefly “prestige goods economy” fueled by foreign trade than the European Iron Age. In the early second millennium A.D. Philippines, imported Chinese goods moved in significant quantities through both vertical and horizontal exchange alliances as a major currency for indigenous status competition and political cohesion.

However, recent critiques of the trade stimulus model as applied in Europe have relevance for our analysis of early second-millennium A.D. political evolution in the Philippines. As in the European Iron Age case, the relatively high archaeological visibility and esthetic attraction of foreign luxury goods has tended to exaggerate their significance in indigenous socioeconomic systems,

with other aspects of the chiefly political economy (localized luxury good production and surplus accumulation through control of subsistence production) given little archaeological analysis. In addition, the coincidence of foreign trade goods and the rise of Southeast Asian chiefdoms and states has almost invariably been interpreted in terms of unidirectional causality (e.g., Coedes 1972; Wheatley 1975; but see Hutterer 1977), with "indianization" and "sinocization" processes discussed in the Southeast Asian literature mirroring traditional views of the "Hellenization" of Europe (see Morrison, this volume). Ethnohistoric and archaeological evidence is presented in the following sections that strongly suggests that "peer polity" competitive interactions were intensifying in fifteenth- to sixteenth-century Philippine chiefdoms—including intensified internal tribute mobilization, expanded political alliance-building through exotic prestige good exchange, and increased interpolity warfare. However, whether these intensified interactions and the associated political changes are directly linked to foreign trade competition is problematic, and, as in the European case, alternative scenarios focused on internal economic and political processes can be offered.

COMPETITIVE STRATEGIES AND FOREIGN LUXURY GOOD TRADE IN PHILIPPINE CHIEFDOMS

Ethnohistoric sources (Alcina 1688; Loarca 1582; Morga 1609; Plasencia 1589; San Buenaventura 1613; see also Keesing 1962; Scott 1979, 1980, 1983, 1991) suggest that at the time of European contact, a significant number of Philippines coastal societies were sociopolitically complex and regionally centralized. As in "chiefdoms" known ethnohistorically and archaeologically elsewhere in the world (Carneiro 1981; Creamer and Haas 1985; Earle 1987; Johnson and Earle 1987), members of the chiefly class played a central role in administering a complex regional economy. They controlled agricultural livelihood through restrictive land tenure, mobilized surplus through a formalized system of tribute exactions, amassed wealth through sponsorship of gold-producing artisans and by raiding or trading expeditions for sources of prestige goods, and used this "material fund of power" for political alliance-building (Junker 1990a, 1990b, 1991).

Chinese texts (Scott 1984; Wang 1958; Wu 1959) and archaeological data from Philippine sites (e.g., Fox 1964, 1967; Hutterer 1977) indicate that Philippine chiefs began to obtain a substantial portion of their prestige-enhancing luxury goods through long-distance trade with the Chinese state (as well as other state-level polities of mainland Southeast Asia) by the tenth century A.D. Chinese-derived porcelains, silks, magnetite mirrors, and metal jewelry functioned as powerful social status symbols and as an important currency for political authority in the early second-millennium A.D. Philippines, as evidenced in their frequent use in elite bodily ornamentation (e.g., Colin 1660:160–163; Morga 1609:270–271; Pigafetta 1521:46, 50–51, 58), their common use as accompaniments to high-status burials (e.g., Chirino 1604:302–308; Loarca 1582:88; see also Fox and Legaspi 1977; Legaspi 1974; Locsin and Locsin 1967), and their ubiquitous presence as "wealth" objects in the households of hereditary elite (Blair and Robertson 1903, vol. 3:102–103; Cole 1913; Iletto 1971:37–38; Spoeher 1973:79–102).

There is significant ethnohistoric evidence to suggest that, by the fifteenth–sixteenth centuries A.D., Philippine chiefdoms were intensifying their participation in this long-distance maritime luxury good trade with China and other complex societies to the north and west, in an attempt to procure new and ever more productive sources of status-enhancing wealth and political currency. A dramatic increase in interpolity competition for control of foreign prestige good trade in the fifteenth–sixteenth centuries appears to have coincided with a period of political expansionism and the emergence of increased structural complexity for some Philippine coastal trading polities. These most notably included those located at Jolo (Sulu), Manila, Cebu, and Cotabato (Magindanao), but in other regions as well. It can be suggested, on the basis of the ethnohistoric and archaeological evidence presented below, that these regionally powerful “complex chiefdoms” emerged out of polities that could compete most successfully in the long-distance luxury good trade through a combination of: (1) favorable locations along major maritime trade routes, (2) the development of efficient internal networks of export good mobilization, and/or (3) the development of successful coastal raiding strategies aimed at disrupting the participation of chiefly competitors in this lucrative foreign trade.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN THE BAIS REGION OF THE PHILIPPINES

Recent archaeological research in the Bais Region of Negros Oriental in the central Philippines was aimed at examining the role of long-distance trade in the emergence of early second-millennium A.D. complex chiefdoms. The Bais Region of Negros Oriental is known ethnohistorically to have been the locus of one of many relatively small-scale chiefdoms dotting the Philippine coasts at the time of Spanish contact (Loarca 1582:47; Rodriguez 1564; see also Martinez Cuesta 1974) (see Fig. 1). This region consists of an expansive alluvial plain 3–15 km wide drained by the large Tanjay River, occupied in the sixteenth century by Visayan-speaking intensive rice agriculturalists that were the core population of the maritime-trading chiefdom centered at the large coastal port of Tanjay.

Surrounding the agriculturally productive lowland alluvial plain are the volcanic-formed mountains and highland plateaus of the interior, traditionally occupied by linguistically and ethnically diverse tribally organized swiddeners farming the rugged interior hillsides (known ethnohistorically as the Bukidnon and Magahat) (Beyer 1916:62–63; Oracion 1954, 1961, 1967) and mobile hunter-gatherers collecting wild resources in the interior tropical forests (known ethnohistorically as the Ata) (Beyer 1903, 1921; Oracion 1960; Rahmann and Maceda 1955). Of significance in terms of upland-lowland exchange interactions, interethnic conflict, and the role of foreign trade in intensifying these relations are ethnographic references to both Ata and Bukidnon specialization in collection of forest products (e.g., rattan, beeswax, honey, tree resins, and spices) specifically for exchange with Visayan lowlanders to obtain critical manufactured goods and coastal resources (e.g., pottery, textiles, fish, salt, and metal tools) (Cadelina 1980:101; Oracion 1961:209–210, 1967:168–170). This form of economic symbiosis and interethnic political alliance presumably had considerable prehispanic time depth in the Bais Region as elsewhere in the Philippines (Hutterer 1974, 1976).

In addition, early Chinese and Spanish accounts suggest that the eastern coast

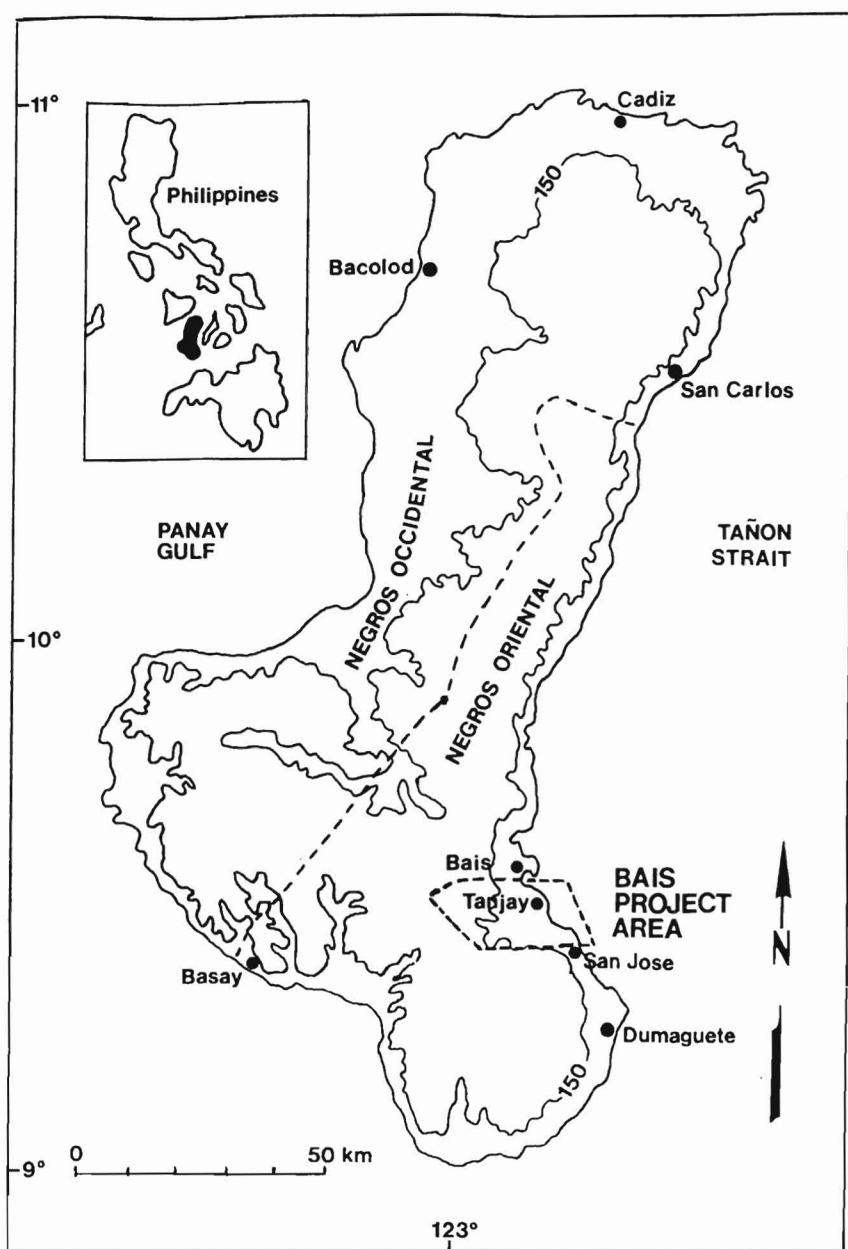


Fig. 1. Location of the Bais Region, Negros Oriental, Philippines.

of Negros was directly along major Chinese porcelain trading routes from at least the twelfth century, with the Tanjay River delta providing the most attractive maritime trading port along this rugged coast (Junker 1990a:433-438). Thus, the Bais Region offers an opportunity to examine the long-term political development of an ethnohistorically known maritime trade-oriented complex society.

In particular, archaeological evidence can be used to trace the impact of foreign trade on internal interethnic systems of resource mobilization and exchange, and on competitive interactions with adjacent trade polities.

Since 1979, a program of extensive regional archaeological survey and excavation has been carried out in the Bais Region, oriented toward these and other research goals (Hutterer 1981; Hutterer and Macdonald 1979, 1982; Junker 1990*a*, 1990*b*, 1993*a*, 1993*b*, 1993*c*; Macdonald 1982). Probability-based and contiguous block regional surveys over approximately 24 percent of the 315-km² region have resulted in the recording of 390 sites, spanning a roughly 4000-year period before Spanish contact. Small-scale excavations at seven Bais Region sites, combined with detailed earthenware and porcelain pottery analyses (Junker 1982, 1985, 1990*a*:495–498, 632–641), have resulted in the identification of six regional cultural phases, the most relevant for the research presented here being: (1) the *Aguilar Phase* (A.D. 500–1000), (2) the *Santiago Phase* (A.D. 1100–1400), and (3) the *Osmena Phase* (A.D. 1400–1600). As is outlined in more detail below, the regional survey allowed the construction of detailed settlement pattern maps for these last three prehispanic phases of Bais Region occupation, showing the growth of settlement hierarchies characteristic of complex societies in the Bais lowland as early as the late first millennium A.D. (Junker 1990*b*, 1993*c*).

In addition, studies of the regional distribution of foreign-trade porcelains, locally made luxury goods, and mundane household items such as domestic earthenware have provided the basis for tracing patterns of internal and extraregional exchange in the Bais Region polity over this roughly thousand-year period of development (Junker 1985, 1990*a*:865–920, 1990*b*, 1993*c*, 1994). Large-scale excavations at the coastal chiefly center of Tanjay (Hutterer 1981; Junker 1990*a*:513–619, 1993*a*, 1993*b*; Junker et al. 1994) have yielded elite residences and burials with foreign and locally manufactured prestige goods, as well as regionally significant craft production locales. This has provided archaeological evidence relevant to assessing the changing role of the chiefly elite in regional production, resource mobilization, and exchange from the late first millennium A.D.

SETTLEMENT HIERARCHIES AND POLITICAL EVOLUTION IN THE BAIS REGION CHIEFDOM

Regional settlement pattern studies tracing the development of a series of Bais Region chiefdoms over a roughly thousand-year period show that, although a clear two-level settlement hierarchy characteristic of “chiefdoms” was present in the Bais Region as early as the A.D. 500–1000 Aguilar Phase (Fig. 2), there was a dramatic change in the complexity of the settlement system between the A.D. 1100–1400 Santiago Phase and the A.D. 1400–1600 Osmena Phase (Figs. 3 and 4; see Junker 1990*b*:190, 192, 194 for detailed settlement maps). In this latter phase, the Bais Region settlement system transformed into one that is consistent with what Carol Smith (1972, 1975) and others (e.g., Johnson 1970; Kelley 1976; Vance 1970; see also Bronson 1977) would call a “primate dendritic” system, in which a single primary center many times the size of secondary centers controls a vast dendritic network of interior sites. This type of regional settlement organiza-

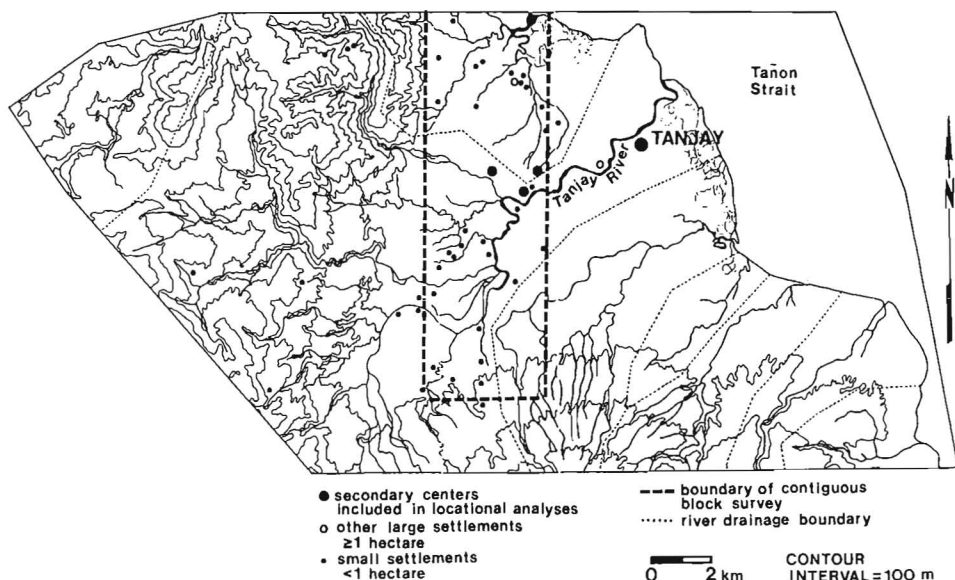


Fig. 2. Aguilar Phase (A.D. 500–1000) sites located in the 1982 Bais Region survey, Negros Oriental, Philippines, showing the contiguous block survey area and the “secondary centers” included in Linear Nearest Neighbor analysis.

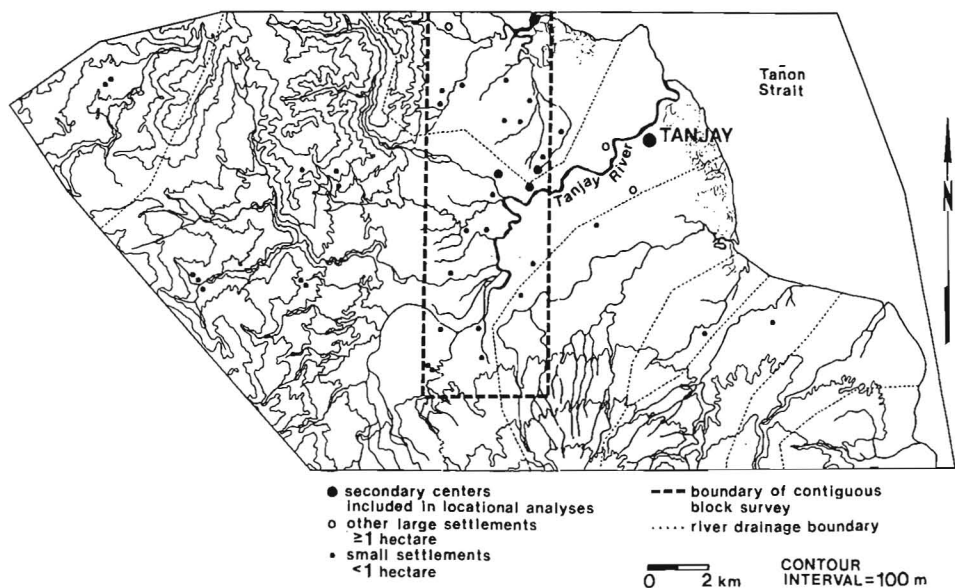


Fig. 3. Santiago Phase (A.D. 1100–1400) sites located in the 1982 Bais Region survey, Negros Oriental, Philippines, showing the contiguous block survey area and the “secondary centers” included in Linear Nearest Neighbor analysis.

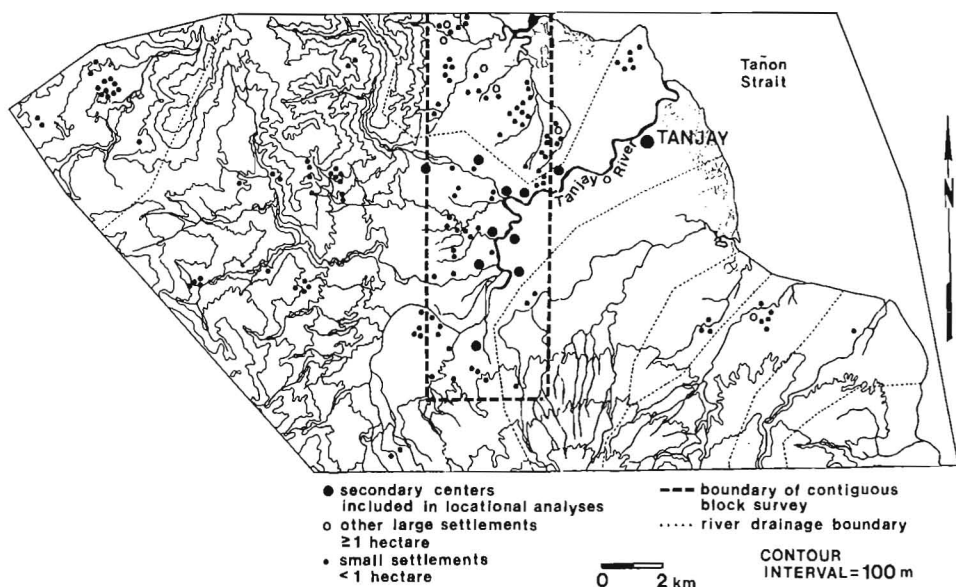


Fig. 4. Osmena Phase (A.D. 1400–1600) sites located in the 1982 Bais Region survey, Negros Oriental, Philippines, showing the contiguous block survey area and the “secondary centers” included in Linear Nearest Neighbor analysis.

tion has been shown ethnographically to be characteristic of societies with a high degree of intraregional cultural diversity and social stratification, in which a politically complex “core” occupied by the dominant ethnic or cultural group controls trade (including status-restricted foreign prestige goods) into a “periphery” occupied by one or more politically subjugated groups.

In the fifteenth–sixteenth centuries, the coastal chiefly center at Tanjay is archaeologically documented to have increased two- to three-fold in size from the preceding cultural phase, and the regional settlement hierarchy has a distinct tier of secondary “centers,” located at strategic points inland along the Tanjay River, that are both more numerous and larger than those of the early second millennium A.D. (see Fig. 4). Chiefdoms are generally defined as “regionally organized political entities with a centralized decision-making hierarchy coordinating activities among several village communities” (Earle 1987:288), in which the size and spatial organization of settlement is strongly correlated with the number of levels in the decision-making hierarchy (Crumley 1976; Flannery 1972; G. Johnson 1975; Marquardt and Crumley 1987; Peebles and Kus 1977; Steponaitis 1981; Wright and Johnson 1975). Thus, these observed changes in settlement organization in the Bais Region in the fifteenth–sixteenth centuries, involving the emergence of a more complex three-tiered settlement hierarchy and increasing concentration of population and production activities at Tanjay, are likely a reflection of sociopolitical transformations toward a more hierarchical and centralized form of chiefdom.

The archaeological evidence from Tanjay indicates that this large coastal settlement functioned as the primary regional center for this area of Negros Oriental as

early as the late first-millennium A.D. Aguilar Phase. However, the roughly ten-fold increase in size of this maritime trading center from the tenth century to the fifteenth century, combined with increased "wealth" disparities between households, supports the regional-scale evidence for increased social stratification and political complexity in the Bais Region maritime-trading polity by the fifteenth–sixteenth centuries. Excavations at Tanjay revealed the existence of two distinct residential zones within the fifteenth- to sixteenth-century center, exhibiting status-related differences in domestic architecture and strong patterns of differential household access to "prestige goods" (Junker 1993a:167–181). In the occupation zone referred to as the Santiago Church locale, excavations yielded the remnants of three substantial-sized pile-houses surrounded by ditch-and-stockade complexes. The size and comparative complexity of these structures is consistent with sixteenth-century and later European accounts of large stockaded chiefly residences (e.g., Blair and Robertson 1903, vol. 3:102–103; Cole 1913:66–67; Iletto 1971:37–38; Spoehr 1973:87). Associated with these atypically elaborate domestic structures were significantly higher densities of Chinese porcelain, locally produced decorated earthenwares, bronze and iron objects, glass beads, and other presumed "prestige goods" in comparison with the smaller and architecturally less complex structures characteristic of the Osmena Park residential zone 0.25 km to the east. Recent paleozoological analyses of faunal material associated with the fifteenth- to sixteenth-century house-compounds at Tanjay (Junker et al. 1994) support this identification of spatially segregated "elite" and "nonelite" residential zones. The presumed chiefly household middens were shown to contain significantly greater densities of carabao (water buffalo), domesticated pig, and other animals known ethnohistorically to have had comparatively high "value" as political currency in chiefly alliance-building activities such as gift exchange, sacrifice, and feasting.

Although similar general patterns of social status symboling through domestic architecture, household goods, and access to animal resources are recognizable in habitation deposits dated back to the eleventh- to fourteenth-century Santiago Phase at Tanjay, household wealth differentials appear to be substantially greater (i.e., involve both a greater variety and quantity of "prestige goods") in the immediately precontact period (Junker 1990a:683–691, 1993a:179–181). Burials exhibiting what appear to be ascribed status-related differences in mortuary treatment were excavated in association with both Santiago Phase (eleventh–fourteenth centuries) and Osmena Phase (fifteenth–sixteenth centuries) occupation at Tanjay (Junker 1990a:691–709, 1993b). However, the burials were too few in number (less than 20 for each period) to demonstrate a statistically significant increase in wealth differentials over time.

In summary, the appearance of more complex regional settlement hierarchies and significantly greater household "wealth" differences at the chiefly center of Tanjay suggests the emergence of a more sociopolitically complex form of maritime-trading chiefdom in the Bais Region between the eleventh- to fourteenth-century Santiago Phase and the fifteenth- to sixteenth-century Osmena Phase. This sociopolitical transformation appears to correspond chronologically with the expanded use of foreign goods as prestige markers in both habitation and burial contexts.

INTENSIFICATION OF FOREIGN TRADE IN FIFTEENTH- TO
SIXTEENTH-CENTURY PHILIPPINE CHIEFDOMS

Although Philippine complex societies were obtaining Chinese porcelains and other exotics as early as the Sung Period (tenth century A.D.) or before (Fox 1967:52; Scott 1984:63; Wu 1959:74), there was a materially documented increase in Philippine participation in the South China Sea luxury good trade just before European contact. Some archaeologists have estimated a ten-fold or more increase in the quantities of Late Ming (fifteenth–sixteenth centuries) mainland Asian porcelains recovered at excavated burial and settlement sites compared with sites yielding earlier Sung, Yuan, and Early Ming wares (c. tenth–fourteenth centuries) (Beyer 1947; Fox 1964, 1967; Locsin and Locsin 1967). Fox (1964:107, 1967:59) suggested a Ming Period Chinese trade strategy geared toward elimination of relatively unprofitable limited volume goods and mass production of specifically insular Southeast Asia-bound trade wares. Ethnohistoric sources suggest that Chinese ships were entering Philippine ports in increasingly large numbers in the fifteenth–sixteenth centuries (see Bernal 1966:43; Maldonado 1572:299; Warren 1977:50–51), laden with large quantities of cheaply manufactured, homogeneous, and aesthetically inferior wares from specific kilns (Fox 1967). As pointed out by Hutterer (1973:124), the Chinese adoption of this production and trade strategy may indicate the adjustment of Chinese markets to what must have been a massively expanding demand by Philippine chiefs for these prestige-enhancing commodities. Another indication of the enhanced Philippine demand for foreign status objects in this period is the appearance of competing trade porcelain sources in Thailand and northern Vietnam (the Sawankhalok and Chaling Siamese production centers and Tonkin area Annamese kiln sites), with these Southeast Asian porcelains growing in popularity to constitute 20–40 percent of the total trade wares at some southern Philippine coastal settlements (Fox 1959:370–372, 1964:106–107).

In addition, Chinese court documents record a flurry of “trade missions” to China by Philippine polities in the late fourteenth to early fifteenth centuries (Scott 1984), primarily involving chiefdoms strategically located along the western littoral of the Philippines (western Luzon, northern Mindoro, western Mindanao, and Sulu), the most direct maritime corridor for trade to the south (eventually reaching the Moluccas or “Spice Islands”). Court visits by gift-bearing Southeast Asian chieftains have been analyzed by historians as a competitive strategy for gaining favored trade status with the Chinese state (Hall 1976; Wolters 1971:39–48), with such “missions” increasing in frequency during periods of increased political fragmentation and interpolity conflict (R. B. Smith 1979:445–451). Philippine chieftains frequently were accompanied on these voyages by a retinue of noblemen and slaves numbering in the hundreds, as well as extensive offerings of local products aimed at eliciting Chinese economic interest (e.g., metal ores and goods, spices, pearls) (Chen 1966; Majul 1966:147–148; Scott 1984:75–77).

In A.D. 1373, the first “tributary” or “trade” mission from Luzon (a polity known as “Ma-li-lu”) is noted in Ming court records (Chen 1966:272; Scott 1984:67; Wu 1959), followed a brief three years later by a joint mission involving

emissaries from "Luzon" (presumably the Manila polity), Pangasinan, and an unidentified polity known as "Soli" (Chen 1966:273). The "Luzon" polity was considered a significant enough political "tributary" and trade partner by the early fifteenth-century Emperor Yung-lo (A.D. 1403–1424) to warrant an official visit by a Chinese ambassador in A.D. 1405 during a tour of Southeast Asian maritime trading states and chiefdoms (Chen 1966:272; Wu 1959). This official court recognition of the "Luzon" polity's favored trade status instigated a new round of competitive foreign trade missions in the early fifteenth century by the polities known as Luzon, Pangasinan, Mao-li-wu, or Ho-mao-li (identified by Scott [1984:75] as a polity on either Mindoro or Marinduque), Sulu (at Jolo), and possibly Magindanao (at Cotabato, Mindanao) (Chen 1966:273; Majul 1966:147–148; Scott 1984:75–77; Wu 1962:477–478). Before the proliferation of competitive, China-bound trade voyages in the late fourteenth to early fifteenth centuries, the only recorded Philippine court visit was a series of early eleventh-century visits by a polity known as "P'u-tuan" (probably located at Butuan, along the coast of northern Mindanao) (Hall 1985:334; Scott 1984:66–67; Wolters 1983:58). P'u-tuan, along with a polity known as "Ma-i" (most likely located along the northern coast of Mindoro), appear to be the only Philippine polities of significant economic interest to the Chinese before the late fourteenth century to warrant frequent mention in Sung Period (A.D. 960–1278) and Yuan Period (A.D. 1278–1368) Chinese court records, histories, and expedition accounts. Therefore, the record of Philippine trade missions supports the archaeological evidence that interpolity competition for Chinese porcelains and other commodities, as highly valued foreign-derived "prestige goods," intensified in the Philippines beginning in the late fourteenth century and early fifteenth century.

Although the Bais Region chiefdom is not one of the polities mentioned in Chinese trade mission records, material evidence for increasing participation in foreign and intermediate-distance prestige goods trade appears to coincide with the settlement evidence for greater sociopolitical complexity in the fifteenth- to sixteenth-century polity. This is clearly manifested in changes in the densities and varieties of trade porcelains and earthenwares recovered from elite habitation and burial contexts at the coastal chiefly center of Tanjay. Chinese porcelain densities increase more than two-fold between the Santiago Phase (eleventh-fourteenth centuries) and Osmena Phase (fifteenth–sixteenth centuries) occupation at Tanjay (see Junker 1993a:167), and Siamese and Annamese trade porcelains appear in substantial quantities in the archaeological record for the first time. In contrast to the European Iron Age case in which Mediterranean imports are arguably rare and restricted to the most elaborate graves and largest hillfort centers, foreign porcelain generally constitutes more than 15 percent of the total ceramic assemblage at fifteenth- to sixteenth-century Tanjay. Furthermore, analyses of the spatial distribution of porcelains within the chiefly center show that both "poor" and "rich" households (as distinguished by architectural features and local luxury goods) had access to foreign goods, but varied primarily in terms of porcelain quantities. On a regional level, foreign porcelains were not confined to the highest-echelon "elites" at the coastal center of Tanjay, but moved in substantial quantities to upriver secondary centers and to upland settlements (as is discussed in the next section). This suggests that foreign luxury goods *did* function as an important "currency" for political alliance-building in Philippine complex soci-

eties, as hypothesized in the generalized "prestige goods" exchange model of Frankenstein and Rowlands (1978).

"Exotic" decorated earthenwares that are likely to have been produced elsewhere in the Philippines and to have functioned in intermediate-distance prestige good exchanges between elites of adjacent chiefdoms also increase in both quantity and variety in the fifteenth- to sixteenth-century phase of occupation at Tanjay (Junker 1993a). The "prestige" value of these earthenwares is inferred through the significant labor investment in their manufacture (i.e., they are generally decorated, more finely made, and better-fired than the typical earthenware) (Junker 1994; see also Feinman et al. 1981) and through their limited distribution in residential and burial contexts at Tanjay (see discussion above). In the twelfth- to fourteenth-centuries Santiago Phase, only five distinct "foreign" earthenwares have been identified in settlement debris and burials at Tanjay, but at least 13 exotic earthenware types are present in the fifteenth- to sixteenth-century Osmena Phase deposits. At least two of these foreign-made wares (a thin, fine-textured, red-slipped earthenware and a coarse, red ware with stamped, impressed appliqué and incised decoration) appear to be widespread Philippine-made trade potteries at that time, because they can be linked directly to wares excavated from similarly dated deposits at Manila (Maria Dalupan, pers. comm.), Cebu (Nishimura 1988), and Zamboanga (Spoehr 1973).

Thus, both interisland and Asian mainland luxury good trade appear to increase substantially in the period just before European contact, contributing to growing household wealth disparities and financing an increasingly complex chiefly political system. The widespread distribution of both foreign and locally manufactured status items within households at Tanjay and throughout the Bais Region indicates that these goods were circulated in regional networks of exchange and redistribution in the fifteenth–sixteenth centuries, in the context of chiefly competition for political and economic power.

CHANGES IN INTERNAL PRODUCTION SYSTEMS

One of the ways in which Philippine chiefs may have competed for primacy in the Chinese luxury good trade was through the development of more efficient systems for extracting internal resources for foreign export. Significantly, many of the Philippine exports desired by the Chinese were *interior forest products* (e.g., spices, tropical hardwoods, abaca, and metal ores)—commodities that the coastal lowland chiefs did not control directly but had to amass through trade systems involving ethnically distinct upland tribal societies and/or mobile hunting-gathering bands that were not under the direct political hegemony of the lowland chiefs. Contact-period Spanish records (e.g., Loarca 1582:115, 121; Sande 1576:68–69; see also Keesing 1962:121, 135, 139) and ethnographic accounts (e.g., Conklin 1957:153; Manuel 1973:218–219; Schlegel 1979:105–109) document the extensiveness of "symbiotic" exchange relations between coastal lowland chiefdoms and less-complex interior populations of the Philippines. Recent regional-scale archaeological researches (Hutterer and Macdonald 1982; Junker 1990b, 1993c) also support Hutterer's (1974, 1976) contention that such interethnic exchange relations have significant time depth in the Philippines, as elsewhere in Southeast Asia.

Although the participation of upland populations was at least partially motivated by their dependence on lowland exchange for the procurement of critical household goods (e.g., textiles, iron tools, earthenware pottery, and coastal-processed salt), the large-scale export of interior products needed for escalating participation in foreign maritime trade appears to have been facilitated through the presentation of lowland luxury goods (e.g., Chinese porcelain, metal weaponry, fancy earthenwares) and honorific "chiefly" titles to interior political leaders (see Junker 1993c:11–12). Parallels can be drawn with other protohistoric Southeast Asian maritime trading polities, in which interior export resources were obtained by manipulating local symbolic systems to incorporate lowland concepts of political power and prestige (Hall 1985:1–20; Miksic 1984; Wolters 1971:13–14). Failing to extract upland resources through nonviolent economic coercion and ideological manipulation, lowland chiefs occasionally resorted to threats of violence or actual military action against interior populations in an attempt to ensure their compliance (Legaspi 1567:241; Loarca 1582:121). However, lowland raiding against well-armed and highly mobile groups inhabiting rugged terrain was likely to be ineffectual. Ethnohistoric sources suggest that such exchange relations involved volatile, but mutualistic, alliances controlled by both parties, rather than enforced lowland economic domination.

Ethnohistoric and archaeological work on similar dendritic settlement systems in the hinterlands of Southeast Asian maritime trading polities has suggested that a far-reaching exchange network was difficult to administer from a single distant coastal center (Allen 1991; Miksic 1984). Thus, the establishment of strategically located secondary centers upriver from the chiefly coastal trading port, particularly near the boundary between lowland plain and mountainous interior, may have been an important mechanism for regularizing contact and increasing the "cost" efficiency of interior resource mobilization (Junker 1990b). The intensification of interpolity competition for control of the Chinese porcelain trade by adjacent Philippine chiefdoms in the mid-second millennium A.D. is therefore likely to have been accompanied by increasing trade interactions with interior populations, achieved through the increasing interior flow of lowland "prestige goods" as well as household products to strategically located upriver contact points.

Archaeological data from the Bais Region suggest that the fifteenth- to sixteenth-century chiefs centered at the coastal port of Tanjay, similar to other Philippine polities, increased their "competitiveness" in foreign trade by developing the highly efficient internal resource mobilization systems necessary to establishing themselves as a stable "export" source. Specific mechanisms for improving the trade volume and reliability of internal mobilization systems geared toward amassing export goods may have included: (1) a shift in the location of upriver secondary centers to more centralized and energetically efficient collection points, (2) the initiation of centralized, mass production of lowland products such as earthenwares for intensified coastal-interior trade, and (3) increasing evidence for consolidation of upland exchange partnerships through the influx of lowland "prestige goods" such as Asian mainland porcelains, elaborately decorated earthenwares, and bronze and iron weaponry.

Analyses of the spatial distribution of upriver secondary centers along an ap-

proximately 15-km stretch of the Tanjay River for the most recent three prehispanic phases (Figs. 2–4) indicate that these primary points of interaction between lowland coastal chiefs and the ultimate upland producers of exportable raw materials become more *regularly spaced* over time. Linear Nearest Neighbor Analysis of settlement spacing for the Aguilar (A.D. 500–1000), Santiago (A.D. 1100–1400), and Osmena (A.D. 1400–1600) Phases (Table 1) shows that a tendency toward “random” spacing in the first two phases shifts dramatically in the Osmena Phase to a locational preference for “regular” spacing up and down the Tanjay River. A simple probability statistic (the Z statistic) further indicates an increasing tendency for small village sites to become clustered around secondary centers as a function of their central role in regional production and trade (see Table 2). Although these locational analyses are based on limited regional survey data, they do suggest the emergence of a network of centrally located economic “centers” upriver from Tanjay by the fifteenth–sixteenth centuries, a settlement strategy that may have increased the efficiency of trade good movement between the interior and coast.

One of the primary export products of lowland traders, according to ethnohistoric sources, is likely to have been earthenware pottery. Archaeological and ethnohistoric studies in a number of complex societies have demonstrated that one means for greater chiefly control over production and trade of an economically and politically significant commodity is the transition from dispersed, part-time manufacturing modes to centralized, full-time specialist production (e.g., Brumfiel and Earle 1987). A number of recent archaeological studies of pottery production modes have focused on technological standardization as a material means of identifying the presence of full-time craft specialization by a limited number of closely associated potters in a centralized locale (e.g., Feinman et al. 1981; Hagstrum 1985; Longacre et al. 1988; Rice 1981; Wright 1983). Most relevant to the Philippine case is a recent comparison of household-produced and specialist-produced pottery from two contemporary Philippine pottery-manufacturing groups (the Kalinga and Paradijon), in which it was demonstrated that full-time specialists produce cooking vessels with more uniform rim diameters (as indicated by a relatively *low* coefficient of variation) than part-time household potters (Longacre et al. 1988). Statistical analyses of vessel rims from ten Aguilar Phase (A.D. 500–1000) and Osmena Phase (A.D. 1400–1600) surface surveyed sites indicate that the Aguilar Phase wares had a level of standardization comparable with that of part-time Kalinga potters (i.e., had a high coefficient of variation), and the Osmena Phase wares had a level of standardization comparable with full-time Paradijon pottery (i.e., a low coefficient of variation) (see Junker 1993c for the methodological and statistical details of this analysis). These pottery studies suggest the emergence of greater uniformity in ceramic form and more centralized production in the fifteenth–sixteenth centuries, with mass production a potential strategy for increasing the volume of chiefly controlled interior trade.

Finally, quantitative data on the regional distribution of lowland “prestige goods” (including Chinese porcelain, metal weaponry, and Tanjay-manufactured high-quality decorated earthenwares) suggest that Tanjay chiefs may have been intensifying their efforts to consolidate trade relations with upland tribal

TABLE 1. LINEAR NEAREST NEIGHBOR ANALYSIS OF THE SPATIAL PATTERNING OF SECONDARY CENTERS ALONG THE TANJAY RIVER FOR THE THREE PREHISPANIC PHASES OF SETTLEMENT IN THE BAIS REGION, NEGROS ORIENTAL, PHILIPPINES

PHASE	NUMBER OF SITES (<i>n</i>)	TOTAL DISTANCE ALONG RIVER (<i>L</i>)	TOTAL DISTANCE TO NEAREST NEIGHBORS (<i>M</i>)	LINEAR NEAREST NEIGHBOR STATISTIC (<i>LNNS</i>) = (<i>M/L</i>)	RESULT
Aguilar (A.D. 500–1000)	3	5.700 km	2.495 km	0.4377	Not significant
Santiago (A.D. 1100–1400)	3	5.700 km	2.495 km	0.4377	Not significant
Osmena (A.D. 1400–1600): Main branch of Tanjay River	8	8.845 km	8.445 km	0.9548	Significant at .01
North branch of Tanjay River	3	5.700 km	4.615 km	0.8096	Significant at .01

NOTE: "Secondary centers" are defined as settlements greater than one hectare in size.

TABLE 2. COMPARISON OF THE PROBABILITY OF AN INDIVIDUAL SMALL SITE HAVING A LARGE SETTLEMENT AS ITS "NEAREST NEIGHBOR" IN A "RANDOM" SETTLEMENT PATTERN WITH THE ACTUAL INCIDENCE OF LARGE SETTLEMENTS AS "NEAREST NEIGHBORS," USING THE Z STATISTIC, FOR THE THREE PREHISPANIC PHASES IN THE BAIS REGION

	PHASE		
	AGUILAR	SANTIAGO	OSMENA
Total number of settlements in the contiguous block survey sample (N)	21	17	51
Settlements ≥ 1 ha (n_1)	8	4	24
Settlements < 1 ha (n_2)	13	13	27
Expected probability of nearest neighbor being a large settlement (p_1) ^a	0.4000	0.2500	0.4800
Expected number of small sites with large sites as their nearest neighbor	5.20	3.25	12.96
Actual proportion of nearest neighbors that are large settlements (p_2)	0.1538	0.2310	0.5550
Actual number of small sites with large sites as nearest neighbors	2	3	15
Z statistic ^b	1.81*	0.16	0.78

* Significant at the 0.05 level.

^a This is calculated at $p_1 = n_1 / (N - 1)$. $N - 1$ is used in the denominator because a site cannot be a "nearest neighbor" with itself. Possible "nearest neighbors" are defined as sites within the contiguous block transect and cannot be external sites or the transect boundaries.

^b This is calculated at $Z = (x_1 - M) / S$ where $M = (p_1)(n_2)$, $x_1 = (p_2)(n_2)$ and $S = (n_2)(p_1)(1 - p_1)$

leaders in the fifteenth–sixteenth centuries through more frequent and more voluminous ceremonial gift exchange. As noted in prior discussion of the ethnohistoric evidence, contact-period Philippine chiefs frequently cemented upland trade alliances and ensured continued access to interior forest commodities for Chinese trade through gifts of lowland "status" goods. Statistical analysis of the incidence of lowland "prestige goods" at upland Bais Region sites indicates that, although only 9 percent of the interior upland settlements yielded one or more of these lowland-controlled commodities in the sixth- to tenth-century Aguilar Phase and only 15 percent in the eleventh- to fourteenth-century Santiago Phase, 48 percent of the highland settlements in the fifteenth- to sixteenth-century Osmena Phase had access to these lowland goods through trade (Junker 1994).

In summary, changes in locational patterning of upriver secondary centers toward more uniform spacing, the appearance of more uniformly manufactured earthenware pottery that may have been centrally produced and distributed as an export ware, and the significantly greater penetration of lowland luxury goods into upland settlements are preliminary evidence for significant restructuring of internal production and resource mobilization systems in the fifteenth- to sixteenth-century Bais Region polity. Although other internal and external factors are likely to have contributed to this transformation, foreign trade competition may have been an important stimulus.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE FOR INCREASED TRADE COMPETITION
AND WARFARE IN THE FIFTEENTH–SIXTEENTH CENTURIES

Ethnohistoric sources suggest that a complementary strategy to internal economic restructuring in the competition for foreign trade was the development of increasingly effective maritime raiding and interpolity warfare as a means of systematically disrupting the economic functioning of competing regional polities. As early as the thirteenth century, Chinese chroniclers emphasized the dangers of maritime travel through the central Philippines, where the “Pi-ye-sha” (i.e., “painted ones”) coastal populations were known as inveterate raiders and claimed to have even ventured to coastal areas of the Southeast Asian mainland in their slave- and booty-aimed raids (Chen 1966:271; Craig 1914:4; Laufer 1907:253–255; Scott 1984:74–75; Wu 1959). However, several ethnohistoric-based observations suggest that interregional warfare may have intensified in the Philippines with the expansion of Chinese trade in the fifteenth–sixteenth centuries. These include (1) the remarkable frequency of Spanish accounts of specific interpolity conflicts and warring events at the time of initial contact (e.g., Artieda 1569:197–198; Chirino 1604:305–308; Colin 1660:176, 179; Lavezaris 1576:287; Legaspi 1570:55; Loarca 1582:151; Morga 1609:82; Pigafetta 1521:68–70); (2) the appearance of relatively sophisticated weaponry at large coastal ports (including Chinese-inspired, but locally manufactured iron cannonry) as “new” technology not reported in pre-fifteenth-century Chinese accounts (e.g., Artieda 1569:200–201; Blair and Robertson 1903, vol. 3:102–103, 144, 148, 160; Sande 1577:106); (3) an observed emphasis on defensive strategies in lowland settlement (including fortification of some of the larger coastal settlements) (e.g., Blair and Robertson 1903, vol. 3:78–79, 83–84, 94–97, 141–144); and (4) the recorded existence of a functionally specialized “warrior” subclass in some sixteenth-century Philippine societies (Plasencia 1589:174–175; see also discussion in Scott 1980:152–153).

Institutionalized maritime raiding not only provided a legitimate alternative source of wealth procurement to tribute mobilization and interisland trade, but also served as a means of effecting considerable economic disruption of adjacent competing coastal trade centers as the attacked population fled inland and port resources were destroyed. Studies of contact-period maritime raiding activities by the Sulu and other polities in the southern Philippines (Majul 1973; Mallari 1986; Warren 1981, 1982), as well as early Spanish descriptions of chiefly raiding and warfare in the central and northern Philippines (e.g., Lavezaris 1575:263–265, 1576:286–287; Loarca 1582:149–151; Plasencia 1589:173–175; Sande 1578:176), suggest that the seizure of resources (particularly “slaves,” agricultural stores, metal weaponry, and elite paraphernalia) was a primary motivating factor in interpolity coastal raids. Ethnohistoric sources suggest that maritime raids were highly organized events, sponsored and financed by local chieftains and occurring with regular seasonal periodicity. The most frequent times for large-scale raiding expeditions were immediately after the completion of harvest activities, when a large contingent of personnel was available to participate and maximum damage to an adjacent community’s food supply and other resources could be inflicted. From the ethnohistoric accounts, it is clear that

the economic disruption suffered by the defeated not only included the loss or destruction of resources and labor forces critical to effective participation in foreign trade, but also frequently physical displacement of the coastal elites to interior refuges and at least temporary cessation of foreign trading activities by wary Chinese merchants.

The most direct archaeological evidence for increased interpolity conflict and maritime raiding activities in the fifteenth- to sixteenth-century Philippines comes from Osmena Phase burials excavated at the coastal center of the Bais Region chiefdom (Junker 1993*b*). All of the 19 burials dated to the eleventh- to fourteenth-century Santiago Phase, and approximately half of the 17 burials dated to the fifteenth- to sixteenth-century Osmena Phase at Tanjay are simple primary pit burials beneath houses, exhibiting both gender-related and status-related differences in mortuary treatment. However, excavations adjacent to one fifteenth- to sixteenth-century domestic structure yielded a large mass grave containing at least nine individuals, including several male-female pairs and a male-female-child triad. The mass grave, unlike most early to mid-second-millennium A.D. burials at Tanjay and at similar coastal trading centers (e.g., Fox and Legaspi 1977; Legaspi 1974), yielded no manufactured burial goods, but contained four detached skulls as grave accompaniments and exhibited a number of skeletal abnormalities amongst the intact individuals. One adult female had a severe cranial trauma consistent with a piercing blow to the forehead, and one of the adult males had a misaligned vertebral column consistent with a severe spinal injury; both individuals appeared to have suffered violent deaths. At least two of the isolated crania have attached atlases, commonly cited by forensic anthropologists as evidence for decapitation. The mass grave at Tanjay is interesting in light of ethnohistoric accounts of intensive interdistrict and/or interpolity raiding and warfare in regions of the Philippines with complex societies at the time of contact (e.g., Kiefer 1968, 1969; Warren 1975, 1981) and the frequent reference to trophy head-taking and the use of enemy heads in mortuary ritual (Cole 1913: 94-95; Keesing 1962:64, 74, 136, 153).

Ethnohistoric documentation for the fifteenth- to sixteenth-century Philippines suggests that Philippine chiefdoms subject to coastal raids commonly may have pursued several archaeologically recognizable defensive tactics—the construction of defensive fortifications around coastal centers, the adoption of sophisticated Chinese cannonry and other metal weaponry, and the establishment of secondary centers in strategically defensible upriver locations to which a besieged lowland aristocracy might flee (e.g., Jocano 1975:225-226; Loarca 1582:117; Morga 1609, in Garcia 1979:292; see also Baumgartner 1977 and Mallari 1986). Systematic auger coring along the boundaries of the fifteenth- to sixteenth-century settlement of Tanjay has indicated the possible presence of a ditch-and-stockade complex, although test excavations in that locale are required to confirm this interpretation of archaeological features and to establish its chronological placement. The regional survey evidence for numerous secondary centers at strategic locales upriver from Tanjay yielding elite-associated “prestige goods,” particularly in the fifteenth- to sixteenth-century Osmena Phase, is consistent with ethnohistoric reports of chiefly mobility between coast and interior as a defensive strategy. However, in the absence of excavations at these surface-collected

sites, their possible dual functions as economic interfaces with interior populations and "asylum" locales for besieged coastal chiefs are difficult to evaluate from an archaeological perspective.

A third line of archaeological evidence for increased interpolity trade competition in the fifteenth- to sixteenth-century Philippines is a significant influx of nonlocal wares in Bais Region uplands just before Spanish contact. In the sixth- to tenth-century Aguilar Phase and the twelfth- to fourteenth-century Santiago Phase, all but a small fraction of the earthenware pottery recovered from interior Bais Region sites is readily identifiable as wares manufactured and distributed from Tanjay or other lowland manufacturing *within* the Bais Region. In contrast, the fifteenth- to sixteenth-century Osmena Phase sees the appearance of a number of "exotic" wares at Bais Region upland sites (composing an estimated 30–40 percent of the ceramic assemblages) that have no analogs at Tanjay or other lowland Bais Region sites (Junker 1990a:621–642). Because it is highly unlikely that interior hunter-gatherers and tribal populations suddenly began to manufacture their own ceramics in the fifteenth- to sixteenth-centuries (ethnohistoric accounts report no such activity), the abrupt appearance of these "exotic" wares may represent an attempt by an adjacent lowland complex society (from the western side of Negros Island?) to usurp control of interior sources of exportable raw material from the Bais Region chiefdom.

Thus, a significant shift in regional ceramic distribution patterns in the fifteenth–sixteenth centuries, along with burial evidence for at least one "massacre" event and possible defensive measures in settlement organization, all suggest that the Bais Region chiefdom may have been engaging in direct and intense conflict with other maritime trading centers by this period. Both the ethnohistoric sources and archaeological evidence suggest that effective maritime raiding may have provided a competitive edge for certain Philippine coastal centers in the economically lucrative long-distance luxury good trade. However, as in the European Iron Age case, it is difficult to establish a direct connection between increased interpolity warfare and intensified competition for foreign trade, because there are numerous nontrade-related contexts for elite action and interaction in the struggle for political and economic domination (e.g., intensified surplus production, control of local luxury good manufacture, competitive feasting, manipulation of ritual symbols). It has been suggested elsewhere (Junker et al. 1994) that increasing militarism in the fifteenth- to sixteenth-century Philippines also may have been a significant strategy in capturing surplus for a spiraling system of "competitive feasting," in turn related to an *internal* rather than externally induced process of political and economic expansion in some Philippine polities.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Ethnohistorical sources suggest that the Philippine political landscape, at the time of European contact, comprised numerous autonomous chiefdoms competing for economic and political primacy through control of Chinese luxury good trade. Based on analogous cases of chiefdom political evolution in the context of foreign luxury good trade, it was hypothesized that the success of individual polities in expanding their territories and political power was dependent on: (1) the de-

velopment of an efficient internal economy for generating foreign exports; and (2) the initiation of effective interpolity warfare strategies aimed at disrupting foreign trade contacts of competitors. Ethnohistoric analysis was coupled with archaeological investigations of a sixth- to sixteenth-century maritime-trading chiefdom in the Bais Region of Negros Oriental to examine the complex relationship between foreign trade, internal chiefly economies, strategies for interpolity conflict, and sociopolitical change in protohistoric Philippine chiefdoms.

Changing patterns of external trade and archaeological evidence for the emergence of a more politically centralized form of chiefdom appear coterminous in the Bais Region in the fifteenth–sixteenth centuries A.D. That Bais Region chiefs may have restructured their internal production systems to meet the demands of foreign traders is indicated by changes in the spatial organization of chiefly “centers” in the Bais Region, a shift toward mass production of ceramic export goods, and expanded regional circulation of prestige goods to encourage greater surplus production. A complementary strategy of increasing military threats on trade rivals may be manifested in the high incidence of violent deaths in fifteenth- to sixteenth-century Bais Region burials and possible fortification of the coastal chiefly center. Analogous to Frankenstein and Rowlands’s (1978) model of European Iron Age societies, these competitive strategies appear to have allowed some fifteenth- to sixteenth-century Philippine chiefdoms, such as the one centered in the Bais Region, to expand in terms of geographic scale and political complexity relative to other polities.

However, it is clear from the European Early Iron Age case that foreign prestige good trade is generally only one element (and, some researchers suggest, frequently an overemphasized element) of a complex chiefly political economy. As in the European Iron Age example, foreign trade goods such as Chinese porcelain are simply the most visible and archaeologically traceable aspects of the Philippine chiefly political economy. Wealth for generating and maintaining political power may come from a number of sources, including foreign luxury good trade, local production of status-symboling goods by attached craft specialists, status good exchanges between local elites, and surplus production of subsistence goods. Ethnoarchaeological and archaeological research has just begun to yield insights into the organization of craft production systems in Philippine complex societies and their role in the prehispanic political economy (e.g., Junker 1993c, 1994; Longacre et al. 1988). We know very little ethnohistorically, and almost nothing archaeologically, about the subsistence base in precontact Philippine chiefdoms and how control of internal staple production contributed to chiefly political power (e.g., Junker 1990a:200–212; Scott 1980:150). Thus, it is difficult to assess the significance of foreign trade, relative to other production and exchange relations, in chiefly competition for political and economic power.

An additional point that is highlighted in the debate over the impact of Mediterranean trade on European Iron Age societies is that an apparent *temporal association* between intensified foreign trade and sociopolitical transformations does not necessarily imply *causality*. Although the precise documentary record of Philippine “trade missions” to China currently may be our best source for tracing changes in the intensity of foreign trade relations, the archaeological record of porcelain imports is less precise and our archaeologically derived chronologies for the evolution of specific maritime-trading polities are too broad to infer

causal relationships. As in the European Iron Age case, *internal* processes of socio-political evolution and interpolity competitive interactions, which had little to do initially with foreign trade, may have provided the complex economic infrastructure necessary for some Philippine polities to greatly expand their foreign trade interactions. Finally, the comparative work on foreign trade in Iron Age Europe indicates the danger of generalizing trade patterns and processes of sociopolitical change from one region of Europe to another, with quite different evolutionary trajectories documented in Iron Age Germany and France. Similarly, the impact of foreign trade on indigenous political, social, and economic systems is likely to vary between Philippine coastal chiefdoms, and these differences must be examined through detailed diachronic studies of individual polities.

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ABSTRACT

The political and economic strategies of Philippine chiefs are examined in the context of trade interactions with mainland Asian states in the late first millennium and early second millennium A.D. Archaeological evidence from the Bais Region in the central Philippines is used to document the relationship between emerging political complexity and reliance on foreign trade as an external source of politically manipulable wealth. Shifts in regional settlement patterns, increasingly “standardized” ceramics, and an expanded volume of coastal–interior trade provide evidence for the emergence of more centralized production and distribution systems within the fifteenth- to sixteenth-century Bais Region chiefdom. The initial appearance of violent deaths in burial remains and fortifications at the chiefly center also archaeologically document increased interpolity conflict in the immediately precontact period. The development of greater sociopolitical complexity, the emergence of new internal production strategies, and increased militarism are all viewed as related to the expanding role of foreign trade in the Bais Region chiefdom’s economy. **KEYWORDS:** Chiefdoms, trade, conflict, Philippines.